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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

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[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

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233 437 427 [241] nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Comparatively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 685 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome, as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.